831 and of the hippopotamus are by no means poetic descriptions of
881 these big animals similar to those contained in the book of Job. The first alludes to the manner in which the male crocodile copulates with his female. And the second tells the story of a virgin girl whom the young boys violate in order to open the way to the grown up men who will follow them. Impure allusions are found everywhere in this teaching of the circumcision school.

When the instructor has finished, he lifts his stick with a certain gesture and all the boys shout at once: "Zithari!" Viguet told me that that exclamation meant: "They are as long as that" and that it was an obscene allusion. The old men take great delight in being flattered and, if the boys wish to add to their pleasure, they will say: "When you spit, the wind from your mouth would kill enemies at the other end of the country!"

As is plain from these quotations, the teaching of the Ngoma is quite trivial, and the formulae are rather a collection of esoteric words than a true intellectual training.

533 *The songs* of the Ngoma have no deeper meaning. We have
881 seen already the song of the Elephant and of the Winter-bird... Every morning, just after they wake, the circumcised sing for a long time the following words, which they repeat also when coming back from hunting trips.

Sing your song, bird of the morn
Mafé-é-é-é!

The melody is rude, wild but very impressive. Mafé-é-é-é must mean: "We are the initiated, we are the men!"

224 *Hunting*. Hunting is the only useful thing taught in the
881 Ngoma. Boys go almost every day to the velt and become very
868 clever in catching game. They beat the bush, sometimes climb hills and chase all the game to the top, killing it there with their assagais, knobkerries, etc. Near Shiluvane they even attack the Mamotsuiri mountain once during their three months. All the men of the country are summoned to take part in the big expedition, which requires real strategic skill.

881 To sum up the rites of this marginal period of the Circumcision school, this is the programme of a day in the sungi. The shepherds

462 273 thank (tlangela) her husband for his kind help! This is her method of notifying him that all the grain has been harvested, as, whatever the man's share of the work may have been, the mealies belong to him.

462 356 342 The main work of the man is the *building and repairing of the huts*. This is truly an arduous job, but it is not of yearly recurrence. Every third or fourth year they are obliged to re-thatch the roof. The huts are built and repaired during the winter, from May to September.

A second domain, which is exclusively man's, is the *care of the cattle* ; the boys milk the cows, construct and repair the kraal : the little boys herd the goats, and the young men the oxen, as has already been mentioned.

462 411 294 It is also the men who *make all the utensils and tools* used in the village, pots and other crockery excepted ; mortars, pestles, handles for axes or hoes (mimphinyi), wooden platters, carved or forged articles, all this work pertains to them. They must also make the *ntehe* for their wives, or sisters, after the birth of the babies. This is probably the explanation of the curious fact noticed amongst Native Christians, namely that they are much more clever at needlework than their wives. Big fellows are often seen forsaking the hoe to work with the needle, and there are fathers who make their own clothing as well as the dresses for their wives and children!

462 224 *Hunting and fishing* are, of course, also men's work... or pastime. For some of them hunting is an actual trade, at least such was the case in former times, before the White Governments imposed strict regulations and levied heavy licences on that sport. We shall study, in Part IV, the curious customs relating to these two favourite occupations of the Natives.

574 517 484 A great part of their time is devoted by the men to *paying visits*. They are very fond of calling on each other, and sometimes they go great distances to see relatives or friends. They do not travel to pay visits only, but they frequently journey to claim payment of their debts (milandju). To regain the possession of a miserable head of cattle they willingly lose whole weeks! And what endless discussions in the *hubo*, when an unfortunate visitor

643 651 In the Northern clans it seems that these payments in kind called *shirwalo* (carrying of beer, from ku rwala, to carry), are expected from all those who are not hunters and bring no meat to the capital.

643 651 224 825 2. The right of the chief *over wild beasts killed in hunting* is not the same for all game. Rhinoceros is not taxed ; it is even taboo to bring its meat to the chief. On the contrary when a man has killed a wild buffalo, an elan, a giraffe or an antelope, he must first cut some joints for the chief. If it is a panther or a lion, he must give up the skin ; if an elephant, the tusk which scratched the soil when it fell belongs to the chief ; it is "the tusk of the soil," and the chief is "the soil." The other tusk is for the hunter (ndlayi). In the Maputju country, it was even forbidden to kill elephants. Ngwanazi, the chief who was deported in 1896, had reserved the monopoly of elephant hunting for himself and his warriors. The hippopotamus is taxed more heavily than any other beast. The hunter who has succeeded in killing one has not the right of cutting it open. Should he do so, it would be considered a serious offence. He might be put to death. (Mankhelu.) He must at once send word to the capital, and the men of the Court will come immediately and cut up the animal, taking half the joints to the chief. As for the crocodile, it must also be opened by the men of the Court, because it contains many things such as marvellous stones used in magic, and bracelets of the women whom it has devoured. The chief appropriates what he pleases amongst these objects.

643 466 3. *Statute labour* is one of the main revenues of the royal kraal. In some cases, subjects must come to the capital, led by their sub-chiefs, and till a field for the chief or rather for the queen who has been bought with the nation's money. In Nondwane, which is a large country, each of the sub-clans must till a field for the wives of the chief in its own territory. For instance, in each of the districts of Mapulangu, Bandi, Manuel, Maghebeza, Malwan, Hlangunyingin, the chief Mubvesha possessed a royal field which his subjects weeded and harvested every year, and the sub-chief Habele, who was in charge of those districts, had to gather the mealies and carry them to the capital. This official tilling is done

1: Junod M-5 (1895-1909)1927 Thonga

643 on good and friendly terms. Should relations between them be
609 at all strained, or should war be imminent, all the roads would be
574 closed and no one allowed to enter the capital.

V. *The Kondza custom.*

641 The chief is also approached by those who may wish to become
643 subject to him, to be naturalized ; this is called *kondza*, from a Zulu word conveying this meaning. The chief will assign to the new *nandja* a dwelling place, and he will be incorporated in the nation without further ceremony. By this kondza, he binds himself to pay the taxes (See the story of Mutipi. *Les chants et les contes des Ba-Ronga*, page 164).

Naturalised strangers, however, do not eat the first fruits (luma) with the same drug as the people of the country. They have their own medicine and take it according to their own rules. They are however forbidden to luma before the chief of their adopted land (p. 397).

VI. *Diplomatic relations.*

648 We have seen that these are very carefully conducted, each
602 of the neighbouring clans having one counsellor entrusted with
726 the care of its affairs. In case of war, friendly clans frequently
224 make alliances (shinakulobye). They send messages to each other, or they have special means of communicating news in case of war. Supposing, for instance, Nwamba and Nondwane should fight against Matjolo. They put two traps at their common boundary, on the side of the road, one on the territory of Nwamba and one on that of Nondwane. These traps consist of a rod bent by a string fastened to the ground. Should the army of Matjolo have made an invasion during the night into Nwamba territory and put the people to flight, the men of Nwamba

685 343 151 625 has been pulled up and the sand nicely smoothed down, so that any traces of a thief would easily be seen. He will possibly be recognised at once by the trackers, owing to some peculiarity in the marks on the sand, the foot-print of each individual being more or less known ; clever detectives can even ascertain the height and gait of a man from the length of his stride! If there are no peculiar marks in the foot-prints, the trackers will follow them and reach the village where the thief lives. They will perhaps take him by surprise in his hut. If the matter cannot be settled by the headman of the village and has to be brought before the chief, the guilty party will be fined as much as two, three or even five pounds sterling (Tobane) (1).

When detectives have been unable to trace a thief, they assume a philosophical attitude and say : "Only wait. A man who has stolen will steal again, and you will catch him another time!"

643 687 *Revolt against the decisions of the chief's hubo* is very rare. Should any person take the part of a condemned man and encourage him to oppose the decision of the Court, he will be beaten with a shambock on the square of the capital. "U onhi hubo," "he has spoilt the Court!" Moreover he may have to pay a fine of £ 2. (Mankhelu.)

643 835 224 701 *Answer to some of Professor Frazer's questions on Government.* There are no separate chiefs for war and peace. But in time of war the great induna, who is the Commander-in-chief of the army, directs all military operations. — The chief is never required to marry his own sister or daughter. The only similar case of which I have heard, is that of a hunter who must have sexual relations with his daughter before going on a hunting trip (Part IV).

643 778 — The king's mother does not hold any special office.— The chief does not keep any portion of his deceased predecessor excepting the nails and hair used for the mhamb[illegible] see page 386 and part VI.

538 (1) The following interesting couplet in two sentences aptly describes the thief : Shishlungwa rendjeletane ? — The crown on the hut nicely rounded ? Mangatlu a puka ritiho... — The hawk burns his claws...
The thief is like a crown on the top of a hut. He is a lazy person, he attitudinises and will not work. Evil will befall him, as with a hawk who tries to snatch the meat that is roasting and burns his claws!

235 made their appearance together with men" — "ti tumbulukile ni banhu," they say. But we know that the critical sense is absent from their minds, so we cannot rely on any such absolute dictum. "The Honwanas had them" they add ; and this we may believe, as the Honwanas have always kept more or less apart from the invaders of the XVth or XVIth century (I. p. 357) and may have preserved their traditions. This shows that poultry was known in Delagoa Bay 300 or 400 years ago. Not having seen the Portuguese chronicles of 1550-1600, I cannot say whether they make any allusion to the presence of fowls at that date (1).

F. HUNTING AND FISHING.

224 476 Whatever may be the antiquity of cattle breeding amongst South African Natives, there was a time when they had no domestic animals at all. Then, however, there were plenty of antelopes, elephants, and hippopotami in the country and they satisfied their craving for meat by hunting. Hunting was undoubtedly more developed in those remote times than now, and it was accompanied by customs and rites which are still to be found in some places, though rapidly disappearing, and in which are embodied some of the most curious animistic ideas of the tribe. Moreover, in their primitive state, Bantus only possessed very simple and inadequate weapons. It was hardly possible for an isolated member of the tribe to attack and kill big animals alone. The collaboration of his fellow clansmen was indispensable Hunting therefore was not an individual affair, but a collective concern. This gave rise to social rites, as gene-
224 rally happens when collective acts are performed. These ani-

(1) As regards the Pedi-Sutbos of Zoutpansberg, the introduction of fowls amongst them is quite modern and they admit that they owe them to the Ma-Lemba who brought them into the country about 150 years ago. See my paper in *Folklore* Sept. 1908.

mistic and social rites connected with hunting constitute an elaborate system which forms a most interesting study. 224

The interest of this study has been further enhanced by the discoveries made in the caves of France and Spain regarding our forefathers of the paleolithic age. They also were great hunters, and the rites of the Bantus, who are to-day in a state of civilisation very similar to that of the Mousterian and Magdalenian periods, are capable of throwing much light on tne customs of primitive humanity. The cave-dwellers of those remote times used to depict wild animals on the walls of their caves and on some of these artistically drawn figures may be noticed characteristic spots; these would seem to represent the wounds which the hunters intended to inflict on the animals in the course of their next hunting expeditions. This was prpbably a magical method of achieving success in the chase. Bantus of the present day do not possess this wonderful pictorial art. Their magic is different, but it rests on the same principles, and who can say whether the description of their hunting rites may not help us to understand some of the discoveries already made or still to be made in the deposits of prehistoric times, just as the position given by them to the corpse in the grave explains why in the Mousterian skeletons the legs and forearms are bent towards the sternum.

I. *Big Game Hunting.*

Big game is plentiful in Thonga territory, more so of course in the remote places (mananga) than in the populated areas. Elephants are still found in the desert, in Hlengweland and Maputju; hippopotami swarm in the Nkomati and Limpopo; antelopes of subtropical Africa still abound north of Khosen and in the low plains of Zoutpansberg: the sable antelope, (mhalamhala), water buck (mhetlwa), koedoe, gnu (hongonyi), reed buck (nhlangu), etc. The duiker (mhunti) is met with everywhere. The smaller antelopes are the shipeya, mangulwe, etc. The giraffe (nhutlwa) and the buffalo (nyari) are still found north of Khosen, but are decreasing in number. 136 224

224 Let me first mention some of the *social rites* connected with
422 hunting.

When a man finds *a dead animal* in the bush, if it is not too heavy, he can hoist it on his shoulders and take it home to eat. We know that Natives are not afraid of eating dead meat and enjoy an extraordinary immunity from its dangers. But if it is an elephant, for instance, the man who has found it, perhaps by following the vultures which gather round the dead body, will first carefully examine the soil all round the beast to be sure that nobody has seen it before him. If no footprints are to be seen, he cuts a piece of meat, places it on a fire and eats to his heart's content. Then he cuts off the tail (tjoba) of the animal and runs home to call his fellow-clansmen. The tail is his "means of notification" (bika) ; they all rush to the spot, cut off the limbs and carry them to the village. Should the animal have fallen in a country which is not that of the finder, the latter will give the owners of the land one of the limbs and the ribs which were in contact with the ground (1).

151 To find a dead animal is not a common occurrence. Generally
224 the hunter meets with *living game*. He at once sets off in pursuit with his dogs. He may pursue the animal for hours, or even days. My friend Spoor. (I. p. 7), though suffering from asthma, often succeeded in killing an antelope which had been overcome with fatigue and was found by him lying asleep. But he may often have to start without having seen anything. *The study of footprints* is then of paramount importance. In the sandy plains

(1) The Nkumba clan, 10 Kil. north of Lourenço Marques, lost its independance on account of a dead elephant under the following circumstances. One of the men of this clan had found a dead elephant. He at once cut off the tail and went to the village of the chief to "bika." Whilst he was away a troup of men of the Libombo clan, settled some kilometers further north, came to the spot. They put an axe into the animal's rectum, and when the Nkumbas arrived they said to them : "This beast is ours ! You have cut off the tail, but we had put our axe into its rectum long before." And a big warrior took the axe out triumphantly. The Nkumbas said "goo," i. e. they were greatly embarrassed and answered : "You lie ! We had cut off the tail before you came !" — "Not at all," answered the Libombos ! "Our method of appropriating a dead animal is to put an axe into its rectum." This led to a fight in which the Nkumbas were defeated, and later on, one of them having died and been buried in their sacred wood (ntiliwen), the Libombos dug up the corpse and threw it away. The poor Nkumbas were obliged to bury it in another place : they had lost their country !

of the coast, antelopes leave well marked traces in the soil. A hunter starts at 8 a. m. and notices that the footprint is of a dark colour ; this shows that the morning dew has fallen into it ; therefore the footprint was made during the night, some hours before. If the edges of the print are sharply cut, this means that the animal passed in the early morning, when the sand was still a little wet and firm, whilst if the edges are irregular or have crumbled down, it is a sign that the print was made at noon, when the sand is quite dry and loose. The Rev. A. Aubert living in the Maputju country, who often questioned hunters on the subject, told me that these men had wonderful skill in drawing their conclusions at a glance, apparently without any reasoning process. It is evident that the reasoning process must have taken place at some period, but it has become almost instinctive : the sight of the footprint immediately gives the hunter the information required. They are even able, when on the track of two antelopes of the same kind, to state which are the footprints of the male and which those of the female, the latter being generally somewhat smaller.

When the soil is hard, or clayish, there may be more difficulty. The hunter will observe the depth of the footprint ; if it is deeply marked, this shows that the earth was wet and soft when the animal passed ; therefore it was in the early morning, just after the fall of the dew. Or he may notice that a stone has been displaced and turned upside down by the antelope's hoofs ; should the upper side of this stone be wet, the displacement took place before the dew fell. On the contrary, should it be dry, the stone has just been moved and the animal is not far off. The Rev. P. Rosset, who was once led in an eland hunt by an experienced "phisa", told me that the man was all the time muttering volubly, talking to himself in a low voice, interpreting to himself all the signs he observed and drawing his conclusions without taking any heed of his white companion (1).

(1) Native children begin very early to learn the science of footprints. They notice the peculiar aspect of the footprint of all the inmates of the village and are soon able to recognize them. They even connect them with their respective ways of walking, which is indicated by the footprints being turned more or less outwards.

When the hunter has chosen, amongst all the prints, those which seem to him the freshest, he follows them up with his dogs, and there is some chance of his being able to overtake the antelope. Should he succeed in killing the animal without having received help from others he can appropriate it without rewarding anybody. Only if it is too heavy to carry home, he will shout loudly, on a high, piercing note: "Hoooooyiooo..." perhaps after having climbed up a tree so as to make himself heard a long way off. Or he will cut off the tail, cover the beast with branches to prevent vultures from damaging it, plant his assegay in the ground to show his right to the possession of his victim and go home to fetch his companions. When they have helped him to carry the animal, he will give each of them a good piece of meat.

But if the hunter who discovered the antelope sees that he will not be able to come up with it, he will blow his trumpet (lihlanga) to call for help. When the men arrive on the spot, he will cry: "Nkuna yowee!.." if he is a Nkuna, and all will repeat after him: "Nkuna yowee!.." to acknowledge his right. He may abandon the pursuit, but his right has been proclaimed and will be remembered. The second hunter who stabs the antelope will do the same; he will shout "Mabota yowee!.." if he is of the Mabota clan, and so on till the animal has been killed. Then the meat will be distributed amongst the killers in the following way.. The first will receive the body, the second one leg, the third the foreleg and the fourth the throat, a portion being reserved for the chief, the owner of the soil on which the antelope has fallen. This manner of pursuing an animal, in which helpers are summoned by means of the trumpet, is called ku nyikanana, i. e. to surrender to each other.

If the hunter has killed a very big animal and wants his clansmen alone to help him, he has recourse to another method of calling them. Each clan possesses its own rallying cry, and this he shouts loudly. This is intended to exclude men of other clans and to prevent fighting or any dispute about the possession of the animal. For the Ba-Nkuna this cry is: *Nyandlaleyo!* For the Tsongas: *Hi ahlanga!* For the Manukosi clan: *Mayamba nguenya ya namba wa tinguenya!* (Crocodile of the river of

crocodiles.) For the Mavundjas: *Kahlamba ntjhaba yo nonoha!* (The big mountain, difficult to climb.) (1)

I have already described the part of a slain animal which is to be given to the chief, when speaking of the prerogatives of the master of the country (I. p. 406). Here are some supplementary details: The general idea is that he must receive that part of the body which was in contact with the soil, because the chief is the owner of the soil. In the case of smaller antelopes however he does not claim anything. For the eland he requires, in addition to the ordinary tribute, half of the *bofu* i. e. of the paunch of fat which is found round the heart of this animal and which is believed to possess precious medicinal properties (especially for new-born children born with a membrane round the head). As regards buffaloes and other big animals, should they be killed far away from home, their meat is cut into strips (*misha-katsu*) and two bundles are brought back to the chief; it is also the rule that the head of any beast of great size should be eaten on the bandla, the meeting-place of the men in the capital.

Buffalo hunter with his victim.

So far I have described hunting with assegais, sticks and dogs. But Thongas possess another method of killing big animals, a method which is perhaps more ancient and which has sometimes proved very useful. This is the *marindji trap*, i. e. a large pit dug in the earth, covered with branches and full of pointed stakes upon which the animal falls and impales itself. These stakes are made

(1) The Podis have the same custom. The Ba-Khaba cry: "Haratsha! Mugosi! We"! This expression comes from the verb *ratsha*, to cross a river on a tree trunk, as the Khaba clan is said to have been held back in its ancient migrations by a swollen river and to have *ratsha* it successfully. The remembrance of this feat of their ancestors has remained and has given rise to this rallying cry. Other Podis say: "*Sinen'tja khomo*," viz., "the killer will be given an ox for his reward."

224 824 of the very hard wood of the ntjenga tree, a sort of mimosa shrub, and are anointed with a powder called *tjulu*. This is a deadly poison ; it is obtained from a shrub which has very pretty flowers and grows abundantly in the forests near the sea, the Strophanthus petersianus. Should an elephant fall into the game pit and succeed in escaping, it will soon die from the poisoned wound.

The marindji trap was already known to the Honwanas, three or four centuries ago, before they possessed any iron weapon. They used to kill elephants in this way and, being unable to dismember them, they made a fire all round the beast to cook it on the spot!

224 844 In order "to make the game forget," viz., to circumvent its wariness (djibata), certain magical charms are used in connection with the trap. The fence which surrounds it is smeared over with a powder made from a human placenta. A hunter's wife carefully preserves the afterbirth of her child ; she bakes it on the evening of the day of delivery, hides it during the following day, dries it the next evening, puts it between two pieces of a broken pot, and hangs it from the roof. When the father returns from his hunting trip, he makes a powder of it, mixes it with other drugs, and uses it to smear the fence of the trap, also his arrows, or his gun. Should an antelope be wounded by a projectile covered with this drug, it is sure to fall at once! This powerful medicine is called *ndzedzena* and is deemed so important that a hunter's wife who loses the afterbirth must pay a fine of one hoe ; the hunter will try to obtain the placenta of another woman ; it is therefore not necessary that the afterbirth be that of his own wife (Viguet).

224 476 Game pits are not common in Thongaland ; they were still used some years ago in the South of the Maputju country and in the Hlengwe territory, but I never came across any myself. At a more remote period they were employed for the most profitable collective hunting the Thongas ever attempted. All the members of the clan were summoned ; they built a strong fence as much as two kilometers in length, leaving about ten openings at equal distances ; at each of these gates was dug a game pit. In the afternoon the men assembled and prepared torches which they lighted in the evening ; and with loud shouts they chased the game

towards the fence into the pits. My informant asserts that the result was sometimes marvellous ; the pits were soon full and the animals coming behind ran over their comrades and escaped ; the men followed closely and stabbed the antelopes in the neck. But this of course meant the wholesale destruction of game. Happily a stop has been put to this kind of hunting. 224 476

Nowadays Natives use *iron traps* which they buy in the European stores, some of which are quite sufficiently strong to catch a duiker or a wild pig. They smear them with another charm, the *butiba*, a kind of brownish moss growing on the roots of a tree called shivumbunkanye. It also is said to have the power of "making the game forget." 224 824

I have described some other traps when dealing with boys' games.

Everybody was allowed to hunt in the good old times when the White authorities had not yet introduced so many restrictive regulations. Ordinary hunters are called bahloti or bazingeli (Zulu term). But there were others who had made a kind of trade of hunting, regular, professional hunters, who were called *phisa* (pl. maphisa). They were not satisfied to kill an occasional antelope near their village, but they undertook big expeditions to the great deserts of the Hlengwe country where game was plentiful and where the most precious of all, i. e., elephants, abounded. It cannot be said that the maphisa formed a definite class in the tribe like the bone-throwers, for instance. I never heard of a true initiation taking place prior to their becoming maphisa. Yet they were known and recognized as a kind of superior caste and were very proud of their name of maphisa. They claimed a special power over big game owing to the mysterious rites which they practised; thus they partook more or less of the nature of magicians. I have come across some of them and heard marvellous stories about others. Old Madyashikulu of the Nhlongo clan, whom I met in the Ntimane country, near Antioka, boasted that he could pick out an elephant in a herd and force it to come and fall down at the foot of the tree up which he had climbed. He had then only to stab it from his retreat, and kill it ; after which he came down from the tree to 224 554 791

224 554 791 dance over the carcase of his victim! Another was Mubandane, a relation of Mboza, who lived in Nondwana. As is customary with many Natives of the neighbourhood of Lourenço Marques, he hunted elephants for a Portuguese trader, named Fonseca, who provided him with guns and powder. When ready to undertake his hunting trip to the north of Gazaland (Mosapa), he had to undergo a purification (hlambo). His medicine-man cooked a pot full of his drugs, washed him with the froth and poured the contents of the pot on the roof, over the entrance of the hunter's hut. Mubandane had then to stoop and enter his hut, the water leaking through the grass and falling on his shoulders. These words were pronounced by the medicine-man, during this ritual entry into the hut: "Go and be happy! Though the rain fall on you, though the dew make you wet, when you sleep, you will be everywhere as in a hut; everywhere it will be like home (kaya). You will have taken your hut with you, you will enter it in a wet state!"

224 784 Other maphisa were the hippopotamus hunters settled on the banks of the Nkomati river, whose customs I shall describe later on.

In connection with their *hunting trips*, these professional hunters are subject to many taboos. As we have just seen, they must undergo a purification before starting, and also be inoculated in the wrists with special drugs, the most important being those of the tintebe (I. p. 479) the same which are used by the slayers of enemies in battle. Another favourite medicine for hunters is made from the piece of meat which is found between the heart and the lungs of big animals. In some cases they have to prepare themselves for their expedition by daily ablutions and by absolute continence for a certain number of days. The sacrifice of a fowl is also sometimes made before starting. It is taboo for adults to eat the meat of this fowl; it might endanger the success of the expedition. Little children may eat it: "they are quiet" (i. e. they have no sexual relations), and so the hunting will not be spoilt. When all these preparations are finished, the hunters start with their rattles, singing special songs, the songs of the hunters (Part V).

The trip itself may last for months, and constitutes a kind of

marginal period during which the maphisa must use protective medicines against the dangers of the bush, and keep certain rules.

As a protection they carry their charms, especially the *ndjao*, the root of a certain juncus which is used on many other occasions. As regards the taboos which they must observe, I will first mention those applying to travellers in general, especially the *salt taboo* (I. p. 339). Should they take salt with them, this would "precede them" (rangela), and they would kill no game. It will be soon enough to look for salt when they have killed. But the great taboo of these hunting trips is the *sexual taboo*. This was already imposed before starting and it must be observed Phroughout the expedition. The necessity of avoiding anything connected with sexual relations is so great that maphisa will take with them to cook their food little boys under marriageable age. What is the reason of this prohibition? I have explained it in dealing with the Thonga idea of sexual relations (I. p. 189). If the hunters transgress the law, the big animals will be so wild that it will be impossible to approach them ; they will furiously attack the men who have sinned, because they know them, and woe upon them! So much so that if the hunters see an elephant or a hippopotamus in obstinate pursuit of one of their number, they will begin to insult him for having spoilt the whole trip by his misbehaviour, and send him home.

The law of continence is also binding on *the hunters' wives* at home. It is true that when the absence of their husbands is prolonged for a very long time they may become unfaithful to them and the men, on their return, will find babies waiting for them which are not their true children. This will cause them no unhappiness, as these babies none the less belong to them, their wives having been duly bought, and the time for fear is now passed, as they have returned home safely. The fact that these men welcome the children born during their absence caused me to think that hunters' wives were not subject to the sexual taboo as their husbands are. But further inquiry has shown that this is not true. Old Makhani assured me that incontinence on the part of the wife at home would have as a consequence that the husband would be attacked and killed by wild beasts far away in the desert.

224 784 These women must moreover observe certain rules in their everyday life. They must smear the floor of their huts only early in the morning or late in the evening, viz. at that time of day when their husbands are not busy hunting ; then all will go well with them. Thus the behaviour of the wife has its effect on her husband's fate. Sometimes she will take a plate, fill it with attractive food, call her children and distribute it to them in order that the husband, when passing through the villages in the far-distant country may be well treated by the inhabitants of the land. Should a death occur in the hunter's village during his absence, it is very dangerous for him! It was for this reason that Makhani was attacked by a buffalo which injured his skull! Those at home must expose themselves to vapour baths (mahungulo, I. p. 145) in the early morning and late in the evening, as in the case of smearing the hut.

The aim of these practices is in the first place to protect the hunter against the fury of wild animals ; but it is also to make him a man of the bush through and through. Mboza said : "The hunter must forget everything about home. Were he to have relations with women, his charms would get heated, whilst they must remain cool (titimeta). He must himself become a man of the bush (wa nhoba), similar to the animals which are found there. In this way, they will not fear him, nor will he fear them. If he sees a lion devouring an antelope, he will dare to approach it, kneel before it, clasp his hands and say : 'You, lion! give me some meat, that I may eat ; I am hungry!' The lion goes slowly away and leaves the antelope to him!" When they have killed enough game, the maphisa cut the meat into strips, which they take home. When they return they stop at the main entrance of the village. The headman comes to them, greets them and offers a hen in sacrifice on their behalf, to thank his ancestor-gods for having saved them from death. Should one of them have died during the journey, they fire a volley on arrival and are not allowed to enter before having undergone the purification rites.

Hunters must not give meat to eat to people "who are bad" (la'ba bihiki), i. e. to their wife just after a birth, to women during

menstruation, to persons in a state of defilement. This would "spoil their gun." When they go to attend the burial of a relative, they fire a shot upon reaching the mortuary village. Thus the ball which was in the gun at the time of the relative's death will be expelled ; was it not contaminated? Moreover the hunter will wash his gun ; without these precautions the weapon would not kill anything in future. 224 784

These maphisa are very jealous of each other. Some of them try to destroy the power of a rival by securing a part of an animal killed by him ; they subject the meat to a treatment which was not explained to me ; they then bury for instance a bone thus smeared ; after which they are convinced that their rival will no longer be able to dispute game with them. Therefore when a hunter distributes meat to other people, he keeps for himself a little piece of each limb in order to prevent a possible enemy from "going away with his meat." 224 789

Let me now pass in review the *more important kinds of big game*, and I will reproduce as literally as possible the information gathered from Thongas of all parts of the country with regard to each of them. Some of my readers, upon reading these extraordinary statements, will no doubt exclaim: "What does all this mean? Are these actual facts or pure imagination or folklore?" All three elements are certainly represented in these stories, but I think it would be useless to take much trouble to distinguish between the three. My endeavour is not to produce a scientific zoological treatise but to find in these accounts a means of penetrating more deeply into Bantu mentality ; and there is no doubt that the study of hunting rites has a great deal to teach us on this subject. 224

The *eland* (*mhofu*, Oreas canna) is a splendid beast, highly coveted but dangerous to kill. Viguet says : "It possesses the *nuru*. When you kill it, it is taboo to walk round its body. Go straight to its head, and there, in the hair of the forehead, you will find a louse ; take it. Then dig in the earth where the head has fallen : you will find a root tehre ; cut it off and bring it home together with the louse. Then you are safe!" (—Other people add : "Remove its eye before cutting it open, if you wish to escape the 224 825

224 825 danger of nuru.")— "Having reached home, you ask the medicine-man to prepare a charm with the root and the louse : he will *lurulula* you, viz., free you from the *nuru*. Should you omit this treatment you may lose your senses, be unable to find the way home or, when you are back, you may forget everything about your hunting trip. People will say to you : 'U ni nyanyunyu', — 'you are cracked' ; you act as if you had killed an eland and had not been *lurulula*, delivered from its nuru!"

Hunters assert that there is not the slightest doubt about the presence of this root into which the nuru has entered. Even if no tree grows near the spot where the eland has fallen, the root will still be there and the hunter will find it, at least if it is really he who killed the animal. Should another hunter falsely pretend to have killed it and try to claim it, he will never find the root, even if he should dig all over the ground for ten days!

Another rule in connection with the eland is this ; should one of these animals have been killed whilst you were bringing your wife home, you must cut off a piece of its skin and make a bracelet of it, which you tie round your wrist. Then you can eat your meal with your wife. To-morrow go with her to an ant-hill and fix this piece of skin to it with two wooden pegs, one on either side. In the middle between the two pegs, set fire to the skin by means of a burning brand. You are then saved. You have *lurulula* yourselves. If you do not take this precaution, your child will be miserable : it will dry up, viz., be so thin that all its tendons will become visible. — Never let your children eat eland's meat until they have been inoculated with a preventive drug! The danger associated with the eland for the hunter's family is so great that people say : "Married people ought to abstain from killing it and leave it to bachelors." In fact everything connected with this beast is dangerous. When you follow its tracks, if you see that it is tired and that saliva has fallen from its mouth, take care not to tread on it. It is taboo : you will be seized by an irresistible sleep. The reason of these dangers is that the eland has a pouch of fat round its heart called *bufu* (same root as mhofu, the name of the eland). This fat, to which I have already alluded, is a very remarkable substance! Hence all these rules!

On the other hand, should an eland be found dead, transfixed, no nuru need be feared. 224 825

We have already met with the *ndakazi antelope* taboos. Amongst the Nkunas (I. p. 366) this ndakazi, or shidyanaman, must not be killed intentionally lest the hunter and his whole family should shortly die. We have seen how the danger can be avoided when the antelope has been unintentionally killed. The hunter must place his head between his hands, as if in despair, and shout : "Ho! mamana! ndji ta dya na man" i. e. "Alack! my mother! With whom shall I eat it?" By this cry the nuru can be overcome and the possession of the meat assured. Otherwise if a hunter neglects this precaution and comes home with the tail to summon people to help him to carry the eland's meat, they will find that the body of the animal has disappeared.

Clever hunters know a second way of attaining the same end ; it is to dig in the soil near the nose (the same as in the case of the eland) and cut off the root you find there : "This root has received the nuru of the animal. When you have finished cutting off the limbs of the ndakazi, you dispose of the dung (psanyi) found in the bowels, handling it with this root. In former times hunters used to throw the limbs in all directions : this would 'spread' (hangalasa) the nuru" (Mankhelu). Amongst the Hlabis, the ndakazi is called *hingakaya*, viz., closing the way home. It is not taboo to kill it, but the hunter must shout, when throwing the assagai : "Kaya! Mawako!" i. e. "May I return home!" If the antelope is swifter than the man and runs away (with a sound like kha!) the hunter will be lost in the bush : the animal will have *hinga kaya* viz., closed the way home. It will be necessary to *lurulula* the hunter, whether he has killed the antelope or not.

A third big antelope concerning which tales abound is the *kodoe* (*gantla*, Strepsiceros kudu), which is not uncommon in the Maputju country where I gathered the following information. The man who told me these stories, Movumbi, had a great admiration for the kodoe, whom he called the elephant's brother ; he said that the old males had between their horns a green snake which dwells there and warns them when there is any danger threatening them. This snake is their shikwembu (protective

224 825 genius ?) It is taboo to kill one of these old males : the hunter who committed this fault would never kill another kodoe. It is taboo also to kill a young one first ; one must begin with a female ; later on the hunter may try for a male. He must not, however, kill it at once but only wound it ; the kodoe must not fall on the spot ; it must run away and the hunter must follow it for a long time, perhaps two days : "two days, it is all right." Should he find it resting on the ground, he must not shoot it in that position, but whistle in order to make it stand up; then only he may shoot. The nuru of the kodoe enters a root, as in the case of the eland and the ndakazi. The protective medicine prepared from this root, powdered and mixed with fat, is employed as an ointment beneath the eyes, and behind the ears and the knees in order to "strengthen the bones." This is the lurulula rite in the case of the kodoe. There is also a *luma*, rite of the first mouthful (see later on). It is performed by eating ritually a piece of the muscle which lies between the heart and the lungs, and which is the chief hunters' medicine (p. 60).

There do not seem to be any special laws in regard to the other antelopes except the *duiker* (*mhunti* Cephalophus grimmi). The first duiker killed by a hunter must not be eaten by him ; it must be left for his parents. Should he transgress this rule, "his heart would be disgusted" and he would lose any further interest in hunting. When a duiker falls first into a game pit it is necessary to "blow over it" (huhutela) ; if this precaution is neglected, the pit will not catch anything in future. According to Madyashikulu the operation is performed as follows. The hunter chews a little of the magic root of the kind of juncus called *ndjao* which, as we have already stated, plays a great part in Thonga ritual, and blows pieces of it over the duiker all round its body on both sides, ending with the head ; the aim of the operation would seem to be in some way to collect the nuru which is distributed over the whole body, and to convey it into the head in order to let it come out through the nostrils. If the rite is properly accomplished the game pit will succeed in catching any number of buffaloes, gnus, antelopes, etc., whilst if the precaution is neglected no other animal will be obtained henceforth. In this case the "huhutela" is performed

not so much to prevent an attack of insanity as to guarantee further success in hunting. Should the hunter have killed a duiker after a long pursuit, the dog which started the chase must also be lurulula. The hunter cuts off one of the hoofs of the duiker, makes a notch in the cleft of the hoof and blows the ndjao into it : then he buries the hoof, calls the dog and shows it the place where it has been buried. The dog will then scratch, find the hoof and run away with it. This lurulula will help both the hunter and the dog to become greater adepts in hunting, the dog learning to follow the trail and the hunter identifying himself so much with bush life and bush animals that these will not be afraid of him and he will be able to approach them.

We now pass to the three largest animals of the country, those which could hardly be killed except by the collaboration of a considerable body of men ; they are also the three beasts which are "climbed" i. e. on the carcase of which the hunter climbs to perform the lurulula rite; these are the hippopotamus, the elephant and the rhinoceros.

There are a certain number of herds of *hippopotami* (mpfubu) in the lower part of the Nkomati river, from the Khosen country down to the sea. Natives have noticed that these herds consist of eight to ten females with a single male. When a female is just about to give birth to a young one she emigrates to some lonely creek ; if the young one is a female, she returns with it to the herd ; if it is a male, she leaves it in the creek and joins the herd alone, but comes every day to feed her offspring. Should she take it to the herd at once, the old male would kill it immediately, as the master of a herd is terribly jealous and tolerates no other male near him. The young male grows alone ; when he feels himself strong enough to attempt the venture, he goes to the herd and engages his father in battle ; he will probably be chased away, mauled, half killed ; but he will come again the following years till he succeeds in overcoming the old bull, who will in his turn fly with one of his old faithful females and found a new herd, or perhaps die miserably. These herds always keep to the same region. When a canoe passes through these dangerous spots, the backs of the hippopotami are seen from far off emerging from the

224 825 water, and Natives point to them saying: "The mapseko!" *Pseko* is the name given to old pots employed in connection with the cooking operations (to cook, ku pseka); they are turned upside down in the fire-place and the pots containing the food are placed on top of them. The backs of the hippopotami are like these inverted old black pots and that is why these animals are called after them. It would be dangerous to call them by their own name; they might become angry if they knew that they had been noticed...

224 789 I owe to Mboza a graphic description of the rules of hippopotamus hunting. There are a few villages, near the Nkomati or other rivers, whose inhabitants are regular hippopotamus hunters, and possess the special science, or art, called *butimba*; the hunters themselves are called *batimba*. This science is hereditary: it is taught by the father to his sons. These men possess a peculiar drug, the *mbangulwa*; when the hunter is inoculated with this, he acquires a special power over the hippopotami: should he wound one of them, the beast will not be able to go very far, and it will be possible to follow it and quickly find it. But this inoculation makes the man very dangerous to his fellows: should he beat any one, that person will be at once seized by a disease which will prevent his passing water or stools.

224 835 This is the manner in which these batimba hunt. During the day, the hunter fishes, watching the movements of the hippopotami all the time. When he sees that the propitious moment has come and is ready to undertake hunting operations lasting a month, he first calls his own daughter to his hut and has sexual relations with her. This incestuous act, which is strongly taboo in ordinary life, has made him into a "murderer": he has killed something at home; he has acquired the courage necessary for doing great deeds on the river! Henceforth he will have no sexual relations with his wives during the whole campaign.

224 [789] Before starting he calls his principal wife, the one to whose care the butimba magic drug is committed, and both expose their bodies to the smoke of a medicinal pill. On the same night,

immediately after these acts, he sets off with his sons ; they close 224
the drift where the beasts leave the river by placing a canoe across the track. The hippopotami are in the neighbouring forest, busy feeding, and perhaps ravaging the fields. When they return to the river, they stop in front of the canoe which obstructs their retreat : the first assagai is then thrown at them. It has been smeared over with the Strophantus powder. The animal rushes into the water ; when it reappears on the other side, it is pierced by a second assagai. These assagais are arranged in such a way that the blade, which is provided with hooks at the sides, is not firmly fixed to the handle ; moreover a long string is twined round the handle connecting it with the blade. So, when the hippopotamus enters the river, the assagai which is planted in its skin is separated from the handle, which remains floating and acts as a buoy ; the string unwinds and the handle follows the animal as it retreats, showing in which direction it has gone.

As soon as the assagai is thrown, somebody runs to the hunter's 224
village to inform his wife. The woman must at once shut herself 784
up in the hut and remain perfectly quiet. She lights a fire and 789
keeps it burning the whole time. A little child brings her her pipe
(old Ronga women are great pipe smokers). She must neither [276]
eat nor drink ; or, if she is very thirsty, the child will bring her some water. In any case she must not crush her mealies; she must not go out of the hut except to satisfy her natural wants. Why ? Because if she were to move to and fro in the village, this would induce the hippopotamus to rush wildly upon her husband and possibly kill him. Moreover the fact that she remains confined within the circular walls of the hut will have as a consequence that the wild beast will be in some sort imprisoned in a small space ; it will not be able to run far away and escape.

We find here a characteristic instance of the two kinds of magic which we shall explain later on : the communionist magic according to which the different parts of a whole act and react on each other (the great wife, whose life is in close connection with her husband's life, saves him by her quiet demeanour) and the imitative magic according to which like acts on like or produces like (the confinement of the woman within the

224 784 789 walls of the hut prevents the hippopotamus from escaping from the circle formed by the canoes on the river. (Similar customs are found amongst many primitive peoples. See Part VI. Ch. I.)

224 Then all the hunters of the village are called ; they enter the canoe and follow the beast. To facilitate the pursuit, they replace the floating handle of the assagai by a *male*, viz., the big nervule of the leaf of the mimale palm tree, resembling a pole of 30 feet in length. As soon as this species of pole is fixed, somebody informs the woman at home that she can come out of the hut. But let her be prudent, as victory is not yet won. The hippopotamus will come to the surface to breathe ; an assagai will be thrown into its nostrils and later a second ; it will be no longer able to close its nose when plunging and will be drowned. But it may attack the hunters furiously, instigated by the spirits of baloyi (wizards) which are riding on it "just as men ride on a horse!" The fight will perhaps last a long time!

When the hippopotamus has at last been killed, songs of rejoicing burst out on all sides ; the hunters bring their canoes together and row in the direction of the village, singing the whole time special songs which are called *nyangamela*. The peculiar cries of the women are heard on the hill, their "mikulungwana." They come to the shore to meet the men. The great wife, having now been entirely set free, comes dancing and singing. The carcase is left on the sand till low tide (the tide is perceptible for a long distance in the Lower Nkomati river). Then all the hunters assemble to proceed to the two great hunters' rites, the lurulula and the luma.

First the *lurulula*. I have obtained a more precise description of this rite from two new informants. The beast is laid on its back, and its forelegs are pulled out on both sides, so as to separate them from each other. The hunter who has killed the beast takes his *ndjao* root, chews it, together with the butimba medicine, blows pieces of it into his hands, closes his eyes and introduces himself, creeping on his belly, between the forelegs ; he then creeps along the side of the hippopotamus, anointing it with the medicine which is in his hands. When he reaches the hindleg, he squeezes it with both hands, does the same to the other hindleg, creeps

along the other side and at last reaches the head, muttering the following words : "A ti fe! A ti bole" i. e. "Let them die! Let them rot." Then he prays to his ancestor-gods, asking them to give him many more such beasts. He opens his eyes, and this is the end of the ceremony. 224

As a rule two persons must perform the lurulula rite, first the hunter who has killed the hippopotamus and after him the headman of the batimba village.

The lurulula is the great hunters' rite. There is, however, a second rite to be performed before they can enjoy the flesh of their victim, the *luma*. The luma is the removal of a food taboo by a rite which must accompany the first mouthful taken. It is obligatory for the first fruits, for the food left by a deceased person, etc. (I. p. 146, 394.) This precaution is also necessary in the case of game. The hunter who transfixed the hippopotamus is the first to luma. He takes the diaphragm of the animal (mapfalo), and puts a piece of it into his mouth ; he then plunges into the river, and eats this meat while under water, "as if he were a fish." Having accomplished this feat, he emerges triumphant. His sons and the inmates of his village *luma* after him. They take a portion of the flesh of the neck, called shipelo, from that part of the hippopotamus which pushes the mud in front of it, and which is supposed to be the seat of its strength. This they mix with the mbangulwa medicine and, standing in a line, they all eat a little of it, men, women, and children. All the neighbours assemble : they have smelled out the meat! The portion for the chief is put aside (I. p. 406), as the hippopotamus is very heavily taxed, and must even be cut open by the men of the capital. Then every one receives a piece of the flesh, and luma, either by smearing the sole of the foot with it, or by taking a small live ember and mixing it with the meat. The object of the luma rite is to remove the danger of eating meat to which you are not accustomed : it might "hate you (benga)" and cause colic. The taboo is not very strict, as there is only danger of colic and not of death. (Luma is necessary for elephants, when eating the meat for the first time, but not for lions or panthers. For elephants it is performed by smearing the soles of the feet with the meat.) 224 262

539 791 825 days he did not see it, but one day, at sunset, he took his canoe and went on to the river. He took a red piece of cotton ; this was reflected at the bottom of the river. The hippopotamus saw it there and came up to see what was the matter. The hunter fired at it ; he fired a second time. And lo! there on its back was the one who rides upon it! One of the balls pierced him whilst the other pierced the hippopotamus. The animal rushed towards the hunter, but he fired a third time and killed it. Next morning they found the hippopotamus floating on the water, dead. In the village also a man had died during the night, and they were mourning there. The hunter had said to the people : 'I have killed a man who was on the hippopotamus.' And on one side of the river people were eating meat whilst on the other side people were crying. But they did not lodge a complaint against him ; no action can be taken in such a case."

224 777 As regards *the elephant (ndlopfu)* it was the favourite object of the chase, because killing one of these large beasts meant not only abundance of meat but also wealth on account of the ivory. Madyashikulu used to bring the tusks to Manukosi (Gungunyana's grandfather) who returned some of them to him, and with the money thus obtained the hunter could buy a wife. There are different systems of lurulula in the case of the elephant. The hunter takes a little of the tintebe powder (the charm of the slayers) pierces the eye of the beast, mixes the vitreum with the powder, adds drugs prepared from the end of the trunk and the tail and uses this mixture to overcome the nuru. A phisa of the Maputju country employed another method. He cut a piece of meat from the foreleg, cooked it, anointed it with powder from the calabash of the slayers, chewed it and began to blow it over the animal after having "climbed it." He then crept over the elephant in the same way as described above in the case of the hippopotamus, holding his gun in his hand the whole time. His comrades used to anoint him with a white medicine round both eyes. When he had returned home the treatment was continued by the administration of two vapour baths (mahungulo). He had to expose his body to the steam produced first by a decoction of various twigs, secondly by another decoction prepared from medicinal roots mixed with pieces of meat taken from a goat and from the elephant

itself. Afterwards he had to drink the broth and eat the meat. 224
The aim of the treatment was to enable him to kill more elephants. 777
In the case of the elephant as well as of the hippopotamus the chief 643
of the country has to perform the lurulula as well as the hunter "because he is the chief of all the animals of the country and he would be unable to govern it successfully if he did not do this."

The *rhinoceros (shibetshana)* is not common in Thongaland ; a 224
few of these animals are found in the extreme south of the Maputju 825
country. The same rules were observed when the hunters had succeeded in killing one ; but this is no easy task because, as Muvumbi said, the rhinoceros is terribly wild, as it has no "mapfalo." The mapfalo is a piece of cartilage which is found in all animals between the ribs, beneath the sternum ; it is the diaphragm ; it is also the seat of fear or of the conscience. It is this particular cartilage which throbs in the case of great fear. The rhinoceros has no mapfalo ; therefore it fears nothing and rushes savagely upon the hunter. Its meat is so delicious that when a man has tasted it he no longer wishes to drink water!

I never heard mention of the lurulula in connection with the 224
lion (*nghala* (Djo.), *ndjau* (Ro.). To avoid being mauled by lions 782
the hunters put into their mouths a little of every kind of food, 825
mixed with their powerful drugs and spit it out to the four winds in order to appease the ancestor-gods of the country. Then if they meet with a lion, the wild beast, instead of rushing upon them, will look at them quietly, its saliva dropping from its mouth, and will do them no harm.

Strange to say the *buffalo* (nyari) has no nuru, and when I asked 825
why this was, my Maputju informant told me : "The buffalo is an ox." This answer may perhaps help us to understand something more about the nuru idea.

The statement regarding the *zebra* (nhangwa) is more curious still. "Mhangwa a yi lubiwi! Yi ni mabala ; i nala ; a yi ngeni hosin" viz. "No tax is paid for the zebra ; it is an animal with many colours (stripes) ; it is an enemy ; it must not enter the village of the chief." We have met with the same prohibition in connection with the village of the parents-in-law (I. p. 250).

As regards the *crocodile (ngwenya)* also called *shiwutlani-*

825 *mintjeko*, the one who seizes even the calabashes (he is not satisfied with seizing the woman who goes to the river to draw water, but takes her calabashes also), I heard of a medicine-man in the Rikotjo country who knew the manner of blowing over it (huhutela). There are a number of stories told of crocodiles, for instance the story of a man who was caught by one of these terrible saurians and dragged into a creek where the crocodile intended to eat him later on. The half-dead man came to his senses, saw the sky through the dense reeds in which he had been left by his captor and eventually managed to escape!

There is still a great deal of picturesque Bantu lore to be gathered by listening to hunters telling their stories round the fire when travelling with them through the desert. I will add only two in connection with two smaller animals.

224 825 The *honey-eater, shinwabulombane* (Mellivora ratel), is a kind of badger which lives on wild honey. It is said to proceed in the following way. It collects the honey from the hollow trunk where the bees have built their hive and takes it to a little distance. Should you have noticed it preparing its store, do not take the honey at once, but wait till it has finished its work. Then attack it ; this is however very dangerous, because the honey-eater has a special method of defending itself ; it rushes upon its enemy and tries to seize his testicles and tear them out with its claws. The honey-eater does not fear to attack even buffaloes by creeping under their body and serving them in this evil fashion ; afterwards it carefully buries the testicles... The hunter takes a branch of a very hard and thorny mimosa (the nkaya), and so keeps the animal at a distance and pierces it with his assagai. But the honey-eater has the faculty of swelling up and hardening its skin so much that it is very difficult to thrust an assagai through it. When the hunter has succeeded in killing it, the skin must go to the chief.

224 The *ant-eater (mpandana or sambane)* digs large holes in the ground. This is the method used by hunters to kill it. They send their dog into the hole, which is horizontal. The animal is inside, sleeping behind a protective wall of earth ; the dog pierces this wall and attacks it in its retreat. In the mean time the hunter digs a hole from above, some distance in front of the spot where

the ant-eater was sleeping. Attacked by the dog, the sambana 224
begins to burrow deeper into the earth; it reaches the spot where the hunter has dug his hole and tries to escape through this; but seeing that a man is waiting for it there, it suddenly turns back and returns to the opening of its burrow, where it is easily killed, notwithstanding the hard scales which cover its body.

Conclusion on the nuru idea and the lurulula rite.

I once asked old Makhani, the hunter who had suffered from an 775
attack of insanity because he had slain an enemy: "What is the nuru?" He burst out laughing, and this was the only answer I could get from him. I suppose an uneducated peasant of any European country would do the same if he were abruptly asked: "What is the soul?" An ethnologist, however, cannot rest satisfied with this avowal of ignorance or this utter want of interest. He must try to find an explanation, and some sort of an explanation is always likely to be found when we are dealing with beliefs which are not purely individual but which belong to a community.

The *nuru* (pl. miluru)—to sum up all the above accounts (see also I. 769
p. 478)—is a peculiar power possessed by man and by several wild 775
animals in virtue of which they avenge themselves on the person who 783
has killed them. This power resides in their body and appears to pass 825
out of it through their nostrils with their last breath. The fact of having killed a person or an animal *possessing the nuru* places the slayer in a state of dangerous contamination. It would sometimes appear as if the nuru had entered into him and remained sleeping in him, ready to awake in certain circumstances (I. p. 400). The danger connected with the nuru must be overcome by a special treatment; if this is not done, the nuru will cause an attack of madness and may even do great harm to the family of the slayer or hunter.

Let us try to go a step further in our analysis by putting the following 769
question: What is the relation between the *nuru* and the *shikwembu*, 775
first in relation to man, and secondly, as regards animals?

As regards man, we know that, for the Bantus, every human being at his death turns into a *shikwembu* and becomes an ancestor-god for his descendants and a hostile spirit as regards his former enemies. The shikwembu, roughly speaking, is the ghost of a deceased person. This

which definitely believes that the animal becomes a shikwembu (muzhimu). 2) When a person commits a murder, the ghost of the deceased takes possession of the murderer, at least temporarily. Possession, amongst the Ba-Ila, is thus directly connected with murder. So far for the Ba-Ila. It is to be hoped that information as to other tribes will throw further light on the problem of the relation between nuru and ghost.

Considering the question only as it involves the Thongas I come to the following provisional conclusion: The nuru idea is no doubt very ancient, dating perhaps from a time when Animism was not yet clearly distinguished from Dynamism, and when man was not even greatly differenciated from the animal. It originated in the instinctive fear which primitive man felt after shedding the blood of his fellow men and of certain particularly redoutable wild animals. This blood must be avenged (Compare the old saying of Genesis IV, 10: The voice of thy brother's blood cries unto me from the ground. The vendetta custom which is so wide-spread is a further consequence of this natural feeling). Hence a peculiar remorse and the conviction that purification is necessary to remove the contamination involved or the malediction incurred. This remorse is absent in the case of domestic animals. For this reason the buffalo has no nuru; as my informant said: "The buffalo is an ox." Why does the shedding of ox-blood cause no fear? Probably because oxen are considered as the lawful property of their owner, who has the right of killing them, whilst the men of another tribe and the animals of the bush do not belong to him.

The *lurulula rite* above all is a *protective* rite aimed at the removal of this dangerous nuru. This is proved etymologically by the fact that this verb is a doubly reversive derivative. It comes from the root *luru* to which is added twice the reversive suffix *ula* which means to remove, to take away (Compare my Shangaan Grammar § 208). The blowing over (huhutela), which is a part of the rite, means the same thing. It is a magical proceeding which is often employed in order to combat hostile spirits or influences. But the lurulula has still another meaning for the professional hunters who so eagerly practise it: It is *a means of identification of the hunter with the animal world*, so that he will be able to live in its midst without being noticed and so kill more game. As my Ronga informant says: "By this operation the hunter takes upon himself the defilement of the animal (its smell, its nature) so that the other hippopotami, when they see him, mistake him for one of themselves; this man will therefore have great courage and will not run away when

224 they come to him." For this reason hunters strongly assert that should
775 he neglect to perform the rite he will have no success in his future
783 hunting expeditions. A third aim, at least in the case of hippopotamus-
825 hunting, is to overcome the charms of the wizards who ride upon them.

When studying these old hunting rites I had the impression of living for some hours in close contact with primitive humanity, at a time when man, owing to the elementary character of the weapons at his disposal, was almost on the same level as the wild beast and was obliged to display an enormous amount of courage, skill and endurance in order to assert his domination over the animal world and to make it serve his purposes. Since the discovery of gun powder and modern weapons a new era has set in for the hunter. Did not old Viguet assert that now, when an elephant is killed by means of a gun, the nuru is no longer to be feared? Hunting has become for the Bantu of to-day an amusing sport, more profitable indeed but by no means so interesting!

II. *Psinyama-nyamana. The flesh of small animals.*

136 This word which comes from the well-known Bantu word
262 nyama, meat, is a triple diminutive, obtained by the reduplication of the stem, the prefix *psi*, and the suffix *ana*. It means all kinds of food derived from animals of small size, of which the Thongas are very fond.

Anything in any way resembling meat is welcome to them. Amongst Mammalia they specially enjoy certain kinds of rodents, not the domestic rats, but field mice called maphephe and mabuti which boys catch in their traps. Civet cats (nsimba, yi-tin) and wild cats (goya, dji-ma) are not frequently seen near the villages.

136 As regards birds, they eat them all with the few exceptions
222 which I shall shortly mention, from the tiniest sparrow to ducks
262 and Guinea fowls, which they manage to snare. They have no aversion to the lower types of animal : they collect the *matomane*, large caterpillars belonging to a species of Saturnidae called Cirina similis (Dist), which are found in families on the nkanye tree, during October. By the exercise of a gentle pressure on the hideous creatures, the inside is squeezed out, and the rest is thrown

Hlangwini wa ka Shitlhelane; hi ba ka Nkandamuri; hi ba ka Manyubele ni Mbowo; hi ba ka Gidjigidji, ba tilo. —. Akane ka peitjenga! Lomu akobeni mi ta muka hi kona...

Hlangwini of (the house of) Shitlhelane; we are of (the house of) Nkandamuri; we are of (the house of) Manyubele and Mbowo; we are of (the house of) Gidjigidji, the people of Heaven. —. Build (your huts) on the hills. In the valley you will have to leave (?)

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It would seem that these Hlangwinis are a clan of rain-makers, people having the power of Heaven. They advise others to settle on the hills and not in the valleys, because otherwise their huts would be swept away by the floods, owing to the terrible rains which the Hlangwinis have the power of causing to fall.

The second is not very refined, but is characteristic. Erotic allusions are frequent in those formulae :

Nkuna wa Mabutane; mabuta, ba yi bonile ku basa ka yona.
Nkuna of Mabutane; when wooing a girl, he has seen that she was pure.

Mabutane is probably a surname of Nkuna. There is in this formula a play on the word buta which means to woo (I. p. 101). Before choosing a girl, the ancestor first made sure that she was untouched ; this denotes a species of wisdom which his descendants still boast of to-day!

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In epic poetry may be included also the *shiphato*, a Zulu expression which means the laudatory sentence with which warriors praise themselves according to the Zulu fashion. Private individuals, and even women sometimes have their shiphato ; for instance a girl bearing the name of Yandea will glorify herself in these words : Yendea, madjaha! Yendea, the young men! This formula does not throw a very favourable light on the habits of the girl, and scarcely belongs to literature!

A more elaborate product of Thonga poetry is found in the *hunting songs*. I have already mentioned these (p. 60) and here give as a typical example the Elephant's song. I have been told by my informant, Zebedea Mbenyana, a Native of Bilen, that the hunters performed it whilst dancing on the body of the enormous beast, after having transfixed it.

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2: Junod M-5 (1895-1909) 1927 Thonga

1st Strophe.

They march in single file, the Elephants, the mighty ones,
They go to slake their thirst.

Antistrophe.

Let us go too! They're drinking amongst the thickets! Hurrah

2nd Strophe.

Hark! the smothered roarings in the forest.

Antistrophe.

'Tis a grand sound, the roaring in the forest. Hurrah!

3rd Strophe.

The crying of the elephant, the mother! 'Tis she who calls the hunters to the thickets.

Antistrophe.

Hurrah! 'tis she who calls the hunters! Ho! Hurrah!

4th Strophe.

Yonder's the one with ears so large and drooping.

Antistrophe.

Hurrah! the big-eared one has just passed us. Hurrah!

5th Strophe.

The boys are there; the sound of knives being sharpened, there from the spot where the elephant lies slain.

Antistrophe.

Hurrah! the sound of knives being sharpened. Hurrah!

This composition certainly exhibits wonderful poetic power and grandeur, describing marvellously the emotions of the courageous band, who have finally succeeded in obtaining the precious tusks of the elephant, and vast quantities of meat. This song of triumph is worthy of a place amongst the best productions of the Muse of primitive races.

To the imaginative mind of the Bantu everything that causes a deep impression, even material objects, affords an occasion for the utterance of lofty phrases and words of praise. Once when travelling south of Delagoa Bay through the desert, our party arrived in the neighbourhood of the Umbelozi railway. The

136 Sparrows. *Mbawulwane* (yin-tin), (Mpf.) or *Mbeulwane* (Kho. Nku.) swallow. *Psikidyana* (Spel. Mal.). *Tinhwana* (Mpf. Bil.). *Tinkata* (Kho.). *Nkapa* (mu-mi) (Mpf.). *Nsongwana*, (Mpf.). *Nhlekwana*, *Tshamatisa*, *Shindjengeletana* (Mpf. Nku.). *Nadwangafolen* (mu-ba) (Mpf.). *Ñwamutjalatana* (mu-ba) (Mpf.). *Lidjadjana*, (Spel. Mal.). *Timhatana* (Mpf.). *Tinhelwa* (Mpf.). *Ngodzi* (Spel. Mal.). *Khwezu*, *Kololwana*, etc., *Sowa* (dji-ma), sparrow.

Creepers, *Gongondjwane*, lit. the one who knocks. *Shitjemahangala* (Mal.). *Munywane* (Mal.). *Ngobo* (Nku). *Hokwe*, *Ndhlazi*, *Nkoro*.

Rapaces. *Gama* (dji-ma) eagle. *Khoti* (dji-ma) vulture. *Shikotana*, *Mangapfi*, *Shimungu*, *Shihununu*, (Mpf.), or *Khukhunu* (Kho. Mal.). *Shikotlwane*, *Hwati*, *Fukwana* (dji-ma). *Manhengana*, etc.

Runners. *Yintjya* (yin-tin), ostrich.

125 Some birds are the objects of superstitious ideas. First, the mythical lightning bird whose story has been told p. 313. Then the Mampfana, the one who stops travellers (I. p. 339), and the Nhlalala. The *Nhlalala* is the honey-bird. It is a little sparrow of a greyish colour. When a traveller crosses the uninhabited country, it calls his attention by emitting short and repeated cries ; it jumps from one branch to another and does not rest until it has induced the traveller to follow it. It then leads him to a hollow stem where bees have gathered honey. The fortunate wayfarer can eat to his heart's content and afterwards gives the bird the wax. If he desires to be shown a second tree, he has only to burn the wax : the nhlalala not having had its full share of the treat will lead him to another stem, hoping for another chance ; there is so much honey in the second spot that you will certainly leave some for your kind guide! Such are some of the stories told by a boy named Pikinini about the honey-bird.

224 *Mammalia*. My information, on this subject, is far from complete. One ought to join a Native hunting party, and hear the hunters tell their mighty deeds round the fire in the evening, if one wishes to acquire all their knowledge and learn all their queer ideas about the beasts of the bush, which they have carefully observed, and regarding which a great number of stories are in circulation (p. 63-76).

782 To these words is generally added an invocation to the medicine-
756 man's gods, who are entreated to bless the drugs they have given
484 to their descendant, and to join with the traveller's gods in order to insure his success in this undertaking. The decoction is then used to wash the body of the young man. He will pay the fee on his return home.

224 *Offerings of Hunters.* This is called *byalwa bya ngenge*; the beer
782 of ngenge. This beer is made of maize grains which have been
273 crushed but not softened by long steeping in water, as is generally done in brewing ; they are then reduced to flour ; some water is poured on this and it is offered in that form by the head hunter, all his companions standing near him. They must start at once ; there is therefore no time to brew proper beer.

484 *Offerings of Travellers.* These also have their particular mhamba,
782 which is called *Lehika*. It consists of water alone which the officiant takes in his mouth and spits out, saying : "*Pff*!" (amongst the Hlengwes : "*Phaaa*"). "My ancestor-gods! May I find no difficulty
578 on my road, etc." This *water offering* is also made by a headman
782 whose village is troubled by endless disputes. The way of bringing them to an end is not clear. So he entreats his gods to "open the road, pfula ndlela," so that all hearts may be relieved. This will help him to "herd his village, ku byisa muti." The idea of finding a road clearly accounts for the fact that this offering is made under two sets of circumstances so different from one another. Why water is used to attain this end I do not know.

The offerings hitherto described bear a more or less individual character. Let us now consider those which are in direct relation to the life of the family.

782 *Regular Family Sacrifices.* We have seen these performed in
842 connection with the most important events in life. At the *weaning* (I. p. 58, this might however be termed a medical sacrifice), *on the marriage day*, either publicly, as amongst the Ronga clans (I. p. 110), or privately, by the bride's father alone, as is the custom amongst the Nkunas (I. p. 118). The gods are entreated to give the newly married woman "timbeleko," births, i. e., children, as it seems that the power of begetting depends directly
600 on the gods. Regular acts of worship are performed also at the